This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Wilson - Chaucer's Relative Constructions - 1906

12422
350B

Digitized by Google

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
From the Library of
JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES
Professor of English 1918–1930
Francis Lee Higginson Professor of English
Literature 1930–1945

Digitized by Google

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

VOL. 1

CHAUCER'S RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

BY

LOUIS BOONE WILSON

INSTRUCTOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE PHILOLOGICAL STAFF OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTH CAROLINA

COLUMBIA, S. C.
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1916

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

VOL. I

CHAUCER'S RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

BY

LOUIS ROUND WILSON

LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the University of North Carolina as a partial requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL CLUB OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

CHAPEL HILL

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1906

Digitized by Google

12422.350
HARVARD COLLEGE
Dec. 13, 1945
LIBRARY
Received from the
Library of
John Livingston Lowes

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
CHAPEL HILL

Digitized by Google

TO

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PREFACE

Although this paper has to do solely with Chaucer's relative constructions, it has been prepared with the hope that, so far as it extends, it may help to fix one construction of Middle English syntax which hitherto has received but little consideration. While it embraces suggestions from a number of sources,* it has been based upon a careful study of W. W. Skeat's five volume edition of *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, published by the Clarendon Press, 1894–1900.† It has taken for granted that the pronoun *that* is the predominant Chaucerian relative, and that the pleonastic *that*, which is constantly used after relatives, conjunctions, and adverbs, does not in any way affect the value of the relative which it follows.‡ All comparative figures found in the body of the paper, not specifically accounted for in the paragraph in which they occur, are taken from *Troilus and Criseyde.* Differences in citations appearing in Schrader's *Das Altenglische Relativpronomen mit besonderer berücksichtigung der sprache Chaucer's* and in this paper are to be attributed to the differences in the editions used. Differences between *that* and *which* are given in Chapters II and III rather than in Chapter I.

*See Bibliography, p. 1.

†Vol. I., ed. 2, 1899; vol. II., ed. 2, 1900; vol. III, 1894; vol. IV., ed. 2, 1900; vol. V., 1894.

‡E. A. Kock, p. 65, §149: "During the 13–15 centuries *that* was often attached to relative pronouns, as well as to interrogative pronouns, adverbs, and conjunctions, apparently without modifying their significations."

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

PAGE

Bibliography 1

Abbreviations 3

Method of Citation 5

CHAPTER I

Demonstrative Relatives (§§ 1–4) 6

CHAPTER II

Interrogative Relatives (§§ 5–25) 13

CHAPTER III

Differences between That and Which (§§ 26–27) 32

CHAPTER IV

General Relatives (§§28–32) 34

CHAPTER V

Relation Expressed through As (§§33–36) 36

CHAPTER VI

Relation Expressed through Relative Adverbs (§ 37) 39

CHAPTER VII

Omission in the Relative Sentence (§ 38) 41

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VIII

CONCORD IN THE RELATIVE SENTENCE (§§ 39–40)..... 44

CHAPTER IX

THE STRUCTURE OF CHAUCER'S RELATIVE SENTENCE (§§ 41–46)..... 49

SUMMARY..... 57

LIFE..... 59

INDEX..... 60

Digitized by Google

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Special treatises, introductions, dictionaries, and glossaries which have afforded direct material or suggestions for this paper, are mentioned below:

C. S. Baldwin, *The Inflections and Syntax of the Morte d'Arthur of Sir Thomas Malory*. Boston, 1894.

B. ten Brink, *The Language and Metre of Chaucer*. London, 1901.

A. Darmesteter, *A Historical French Grammar*. London, 1899.

E. Einenkel, "Syntax". *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, I. Band. Strassburg, 1901.

O. F. Emerson, *The History of the English Language*. New York, 1903.

W. Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*. Halle, 1900.

J. C. Harris, *Told by Uncle Remus*. New York, 1905.

J. C. Harris, *Uncle Remus and his Friends*. New York, 1892.

L. Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*. London, 1892.

L. Kellner, Ed., *Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. London, 1890.

C. F. Koch, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, II. Band. Cassell, 1878.

E. A. Kock, *The English Relative Pronouns, A Critical Essay*. Lund, 1897.

S. Lanier, *Poems*. New York, 1892.

E. Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik*, III. Band. Berlin, 1885.

W. E. Mead, Ed., *Selections from Sir Thomas Malory's Morte d'Arthur*. Boston, 1901.

R. Morris, *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*. London, 1894.

Digitized by Google

R. Morris, Ed., *Chaucer: The Prologue, The Knightes Tale, The Nonne Preestes Tale, from The Canterbury Tales.* Oxford, 1898.

R. Morris and W. Skeat, Eds., *Specimens of Early English*, I. and II. Oxford, 1898.

J. A. H. Murray, Ed., *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, I. Oxford, 1888.

J. C. Nesfield, *English Grammar Past and Present.* London, 1901.

P. Noack, *Eine Geschichte der relativen Pronomina in der englischen Sprache.* Göttingen, 1882.

C. T. Onions, *An Advanced English Syntax.* London, 1904.

A. Rohs, *Syntaktische Untersuchungen zu Bacon's Essays.* Marburg, 1889.

A. Schmidt, *Shakespeare Lexicon*, II. Berlin, 1902.

A. Schrader, *Das Altenglische Relativpronomen mit besonderer berücksichtigung der sprache Chaucer's.* Kiel, 1880.

W. W. Skeat, Ed., *Specimens of English Literature*, 1394–1579. Oxford, 1892.

C. Alphonso Smith, *An Old English Grammar and Exercise Book.* Boston, 1896.

C. Alphonso Smith, "Shakespeare's Present Indicative *S*-Endings with Plural Subjects." *Publications of The Modern Language Association*, IV. new series. Baltimore, 1896.

C. Alphonso Smith, "The Short Circuit in English Syntax." *Modern Language Notes*, XIX. Baltimore, 1904.

H. O. Sommer, Ed., *Le Morte Darthur by Syr Thomas Malory*, I. London, 1889.

H. Sweet, *A New English Grammar, Logical and Historical*, I. Oxford, 1900.

H. Sweet, *A Short Historical English Grammar.* Oxford, 1892.

W. D. Whitney, Ed., *The Century Dictionary.* New York, c1889.

J. E. Wülfing, *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, I. Band. Bonn, 1894.

Digitized by Google

ABBREVIATIONS

A. B. C. = An A. B. C.
Against W. U. = Against Women Unconstant.
Amor. Comp. = An Amorous Compleint.
An. & Ar. = Anelida and Arcite.
Astr. = A Treatise on the Astrolabe.
Bal. of Comp. = A Balade of Compleynt.
Boe. = Boethius de Consolatione Philosophie.
Book D. = The Book of the Duchesse.
C. T. = The Canterbury Tales.
Ch. Y. T. = The Chanouns Yemannes Tale.
Chau. Words unto Ad. = Chaucers Wordes unto Adam, his owne Scriveyn.
Cl. T. = The Clerkes Tale.
Cok. T. = The Cokes Tale.
Comp. of Chau. = The Compleint of Chaucer to his empty Purse.
Comp. of M. = The Compleynt of Mars.
Comp. of V. = The Compleynt of Venus.
Comp. to his Lady = A Compleint to his Lady.
Comp. to my Lode-S. = Complaint to my Lode-Sterre.
Comp. to my Mort. F. = Complaint to my Mortal Foe.
Comp. unto P. = The Compleynte unto Pite.
For. Age = The Former Age.
Fort. = Fortune.
Frank. T. = The Frankeleyns Tale.
Freres T. = The Freres Tale.
Gent. = Gentilesse.
H. of F. = The Hous of Fame.
Introd. standing after a title = Introduction to the title mentioned.
K. T. = The Knightes Tale.

Digitized by Google

L. of G. W. = The Legend of Good Women.
L. of Sted. = Lak of Stedfastnesse.
Len. a Buk. = Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton.
Len. a Sco. = Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan.
M. of L. T. = The Tale of the Man of Lawe.
Mar. T. = The Marchantes Tale.
Maun. T. = The Maunciples Tale.
Mer. Beau. = Merciles Beaute: A Triple Roundel.
Mil. T. = The Milleres Tale.
Mo. T. = The Monkes Tale.
N. P. T. = The Nonne Preestes Tale.
P. T. = The Pardoners Tale.
Par. of F. = The Parlement of Foules.
Per. T. = The Persones Tale.
Ph. T. = The Phisiciens Tale.
Prior. T. = The Prioresses Tale.
Prol. standing after a title = Prologue to the title mentioned.
Prov. = Proverbs.
R. T. = The Reves Tale.
Ro. of R. = The Romaunt of the Rose.
Ros. = To Rosemounde. A Balade.
S. N. T. = The Seconde Nonnes Tale.
Sh. T. = The Shipmannes Tale.
Sir T. = Sir Thopas.
Som. T. = The Somnours Tale.
Sq. T. = The Squieres Tale.
T. of G. = The Tale of Gamelyn.
T. of M. =The Tale of Melibeus.
Tr. & Cr. = Troilus and Criseyde.
Truth = Truth.
W. of B. = The Tale of the Wyf of Bathe.
Wom. Nob. = Womanly Noblesse.

Digitized by Google

METHOD OF CITATION

Citations are given, whenever possible, by the line number of the individual title: C. T. Prol. 486 = *Prologue of The Canterbury Tales*, line 486. Continuous line numbers are not used except in very rare instances, and then because the individual line number is not given. If a title is subdivided into books, paragraphs, parts, etc., reference is made to the specific part: Tr. & Cr. III. 172 = *Troilus and Criseyde*, Book III., line 172. *The Tale of Melibeus* and *The Persones Tale* are cited by paragraph. Satisfactory line numbers are not given. In *Boethius*, *Pr.* and *M.*, standing immediately after the book number, refer to *Prose* and *Metre*, respectively.

Reference to works used frequently is made by name of author, without title; to other works used only occasionally, by name of author and title.

The line number given is that in which the relative word occurs.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER I

Demonstrative Relatives

1. *That* is used in Chaucer as a relative

A. When the antecedent is

a. The name of a person:

and Claudius, That servant was un-to this Apius Ph. T. 270. Emelye, that fairer was to sene Than is the lilie K. T. 177. Perotheus, That felawe was un-to duk Theseus K. T. 334. Under Alla, king of al Northumberlond, That was ful wys M. of L. T. 481.

b. The name of a personified object:

And next was peynted Coveityse, That eggeth folk Ro. of R. 182. and hir porter Richesse, That was ful noble Par. of F. 262. Sawe I Delyt, that stood with Gentilnesse Par. of F. 224.

c. The name of a country, place, or river (all examples found are cited):

He conquered al the regne of Femenye, That whylom was y-cleped Scithia K. T. 9. In Armorik, that called is Britayne Frank. T. 1. In Engelond, that cleped was eek Briteyne Frank. T. 82. Goth forth to Via Apia, . . . That fro this toun ne stant but myles three S. N. T. 173. Alle the thinges that the river Tagus yeveth yow . . . or that Indus yeveth, that is next the hote party of the world, that medleth the grene stones with the whyte Boe. III. M. 10:11. Iasoun is romed forth to the citee, That whylom cleped was Iaconitos, That was the maister-toun of al Colcos L. of G.

Digitized by Google

W. IV. 224. O worthy Petro, king of Cypre, also, That Alisaundre wan Mo. T. 402. Where as the Poo, out of a welle smal, Taketh his firste springing and his sours, That estward ay encresseth in his cours Cl. T. Prol. 50. And speketh of Apennyn, the hilles hye, That been the boundes of West Lumbardye Cl. T. Prol. 46.

d. A name implying the idea of person:
A worthy duk that highte Perotheus K. T. 333. At requeste of the quene that kneleth here K. T. 961.

e. The name of a thing:
To speke of wo that is in mariage W. of B. Prol. 3. Ire is a thing that hye god defended Som. T. 126.

f. A personal pronoun:
But I, that am exyled K. T. 386. O thou, that art so fayr and ful of grace S. N. T. 67. He that it wroghte coude ful many a gin Sq. T. 120. Help, for hir love that is of hevene quene! Mar. T. 1090.

g. A demonstrative pronoun:
And taketh kepe of that that I shall seyn Ph.T. 90. But tak this, that ye loveres ofte eschuwe Tr. & Cr. I. 344. Thou shalt ben wedded un-to oon of tho That han for thee so muchel care and wo K. T. 1494.

h. An indefinite pronoun:
Conseil to axe of any that is here Mar. T. 236. no man finden shall Noon in this world that trotteth hool in al Mar. T. 294. To ech that wol of pitee you biseche A. B. C. 136. as folk seyde everichoon That hir bihelden in hir blake wede Tr. & Cr. I. 177.

i. An interrogative pronoun (all examples found are cited):

Digitized by Google

What have I doon that greveth yow? Comp. to his Lady 66. what is ther in hem that may be thyn in any tyme? Boe. II. Pr. 5:5. what may a man don to folk, that folk ne may don him the same? Boe. II. Pr. 6:46. Who lived ever in swich delyt o day That him ne moeved outher conscience, Or ire? M. of L. T. 1038. For who is that ne wolde hir glorifye? Tr. & Cr. II. 1593. Who is it that ne seide tho that thou were right weleful? Boe. II. Pr. 3:25.

B. As the equivalent of *what*, or *that which*

a. When not preceded by a preposition:

That ye desire, it may not ryse Ro. of R. 3115. That erst was no-thing, in-to nought it torneth Tr. & Cr. II. 798. nece, I pray yow hertely, Tel me that I shal axen yow a lyte Tr. & Cr. II. 1278.

b. When preceded by a preposition:

Who shulde recche of that is reccheles? Par. of F. 593. leveth me, and yeveth credence to that I shal seyn T. of M. §65. But wel I wot, with that he can endyte, He hath maked lewed folk delyte To serve you L. of G. W. Prol. 402.

C. As the equivalent of *as* after

a. A noun modified by *such:*

swiche guerdoun, that she never yaf to privee man Boe. II. Pr. 3:47. and other swiche shellefish of the see, that clyven and ben norisshed to roches Boe. V. Pr. 5:22. Youthe ginneth ofte sich bargeyn, That may not ende withouten peyn Ro. of R. 4930.

b. A noun modified by *same:*

the same heyghte that is the degree of the sonne for that day Astr. II. 30:2.

Note. The following single example occurs in which *same* does not modify an expressed noun:

And gan him tellen, anoon-right, The same that to him was told H. of F. III. 973.

Digitized by Google

D. After superlatives

a. With noun unexpressed:

Sith I, thunworthiest that may ryde or go Amor. Comp. 19. on whiche the faireste and the beste That ever I say, deyneth hir herte reste Tr. & Cr. III. 1281.

b. With noun expressed:

Thereto he is the freendlieste man Of grete estat, that ever I saw Tr. & Cr. II. 205. The moste pite, the moste rowthe, That ever I herde Book D. 466. Why niltow fleen out of the wofulleste Body, that ever mighte on grounde go? Tr. & Cr. IV. 304.

Note 1. *Which* is used only twice after superlatives. See § **23, D.**

Note 2. *That* occurs once after a comparative:

I nil yow nought displese, Nor axen more, that may do yow disese Tr. & Cr. II. 147.

E. To refer to a sentence, or to a sentence member. While this use of *that* has been supplanted in Modern English by *which* or a relative adverb, it was the rule in Old English and did not fall into disuse until late in the Middle English period, as the following examples, taken from E. A. Kock, p. 30, §96, C., will show:

Wæron heo feower gebroðor . . . , ealle Godes sacerdas, þæt seldon gemeted bið, mære & gode Be. 232:28. ne ich ne seh him neuer þat me sare forþuncheð Sp. I. 8:88.

While similar sentences occur in Chaucer, it is necessary to pay strict attention to the context in order to determine the exact value of *that.* In the following sentences, however, *that* might be replaced by *which:*

Theffect is this, that Alla, out of drede, His moder slow, that (which) men may pleinly rede M. of L. T. 796. How that the cursed king Antiochus Birafte his doghter of hir maydenhede,

Digitized by Google

That (which) is so horrible a tale for to rede M. of L. T. Introd. 84. Lo, nece, I trowe ye han herd al how The king, . . . Hath mad eschaunge of Antenor and yow, That (which) cause is of this sorwe Tr. & Cr. IV. 879. But doun on knees she sat anoon, And weep, that (which) pite was to here Book D. 107.

Note. This list includes examples which were considered beyond question.

F. If the antecedent is a noun not preceded by an article and the relative is used as a predicate complement:

O sterne, O cruel fader that I was! Tr. & Cr. IV. 94. Fox that ye been, god yeve your herte care! Tr. & Cr. III. 1565. No other examples occur.

G. In the function of a phrase. It is thus employed to express

a. Time:

This passeth forth al thilke Saterday, That Nicholas stille in his chambre lay Mil. T. 234. And, to that day that I be leyd in grave, A trewer servaunt shulle ye never have Amor. Comp. 74. the tyme is faste by, That fyr and flaumbe on al the toun shal sprede Tr. & Cr. IV. 118. Examples are numerous.

b. Place:

on thilke side that the sonne stant Astr. II. 29: 4. Evere fro the hyer degree that man falleth, the more is he thral Per. T. §9. And certes, up-on thilke syde that power faileth Boe. III. Pr. 5:13. Examples are rare.

c. Reason or cause:

What is the cause, if it be for to telle, That ye be in this furial pyne of helle? Sq. T. 440. And seyde, that she cause was That she first lovede [Eneas] H. of F. I. 370. The thinges thanne, . . . that, whan men doon hem, ne han no necessitee that

Digitized by Google

men doon hem Boe. V. Pr. 4:71. Examples are rare.

d. Manner:

This ugly sergeant, in the same wyse That he hir doghter caughte Cl. T. 618. I have avauntage, in o wyse, That your prelates ben not so wyse Ro. of R. 7690. thou hast been punisshed in the manere that thow hast y-trespassed T. of Mel. §39. Examples are rare.

2. Although a pleonastic *that* is frequently used after all the other pure relatives in Chaucer, and after a number of adverbs and conjunctions, it is never used after the relative *that*. In the following examples

And taketh kepe of that that I shal seyn Ph. T. 90. For-thy take hede of that that I shal seye Tr. & Cr. IV. 1107,

I concur with Schrader, p. 13, in the opinion that the first *that* is to be considered as a demonstrative and the second as a relative. In sentences similar to these, and to the one following

For wit and imaginacioun seyn that that, that is sensible or imaginable Boe. V. Pr. 5:33,

a tendency is seen to use *that* almost to the exclusion of the other relatives, in spite of the fact that it was easily confused with the conjunction and demonstrative pronoun. This tendency became so marked in the eighteenth century that the *Spectator*, in its seventy-eighth number, presented to its readers "The Humble Petition of *Who* and *Which*," in which was strongly urged the revival of the use of these two relatives.

3. To the statement "Dahin gehört, dass *that* nicht von einer *vorangehenden* . . . Präposition begleitet werden kann," made by Mätzner, III. 558, which is supported by P. Noack, p. 73, I wish to oppose that of E. A. Kock, p. 35, §102: "þaet (*that*) could formerly be governed by a preceding preposition; more frequently, however, the

Digitized by Google

preposition followed. . . . Now-a-days *that* can be governed only by following words, and the preposition is placed after both the verb and the object." Kock's statement seems to agree with the Chaucerian usage:

> But Resoun conceyveth, of a sight, Shame, of that I spok aforn Ro. of R. 3041. Who shulde recche of that is reccheles? Par. of F. 593. And blessed be the yok that we been inne Mar. T. 593. The first example stands alone in Chaucer.

4. The old indeclinable demonstrative relative *þe*, which was constantly used in late Old English, does not appear in this edition of Chaucer, though one case is cited by Schrader, p. 7, which is taken from the Aldine Edition, by Richard Morris:

> Unto that countrey thou me adjourne, the cleped is thy benche of fressh flower.* A. B. C: V 7.

*Lady, un-to that court thou me aiourne That cleped is thy bench, O fresshe flour! A. B. C. 152—Skeat.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II

Interrogative Relatives

5. While the development of the interrogative-relative forms belongs to historical English grammar rather than to my subject, I think it not amiss to offer an explanation concerning it which is different from that usually offered.* Kellner's statement of this development, p. 207, §335, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, is as follows:

> "The transition from the Old English relatives to those used in Middle and Modern English was effected by the *indefinite* or *general relatives*. It is in these that the interrogatives *who* and *what* were first used in the relative sense."

This explanation, though quite generally accepted, has not passed without question, and, to my mind, does not agree with the genius of the language as revealed in the speech of children and the illiterate, in which syntactical tendencies, unfettered by grammatical tenets, appear most clearly. A theory† which accords more exactly with the spirit of the language and which is practically illustrated daily in the speech of the unlettered, is that offered by C. Alphonso Smith, p. 52, § 74, note 3, *An Old English Grammar and Exercise Book:*

> "How were the Mn. E. relative pronouns, *who* and *which*, evolved from the O. E. interrogatives? The

*See O. F. Emerson, *History of the English Language*, p. 336.

†See Bréal's *Essai de Semantique* (cap. XXII.), T. Hewitt Key, in *Proceedings of the Philological Society* (London), vol. III. p. 57, Dr. Noah Porter, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. XII. p. 661, and C. T. Onions, *An Advanced English Syntax*, p. 148.

Digitized by Google

change began in early West Saxon with *hwæt* used in indirect questions: Nu ic wat eall hwæt ðu woldest.* The direct question was, Hwæt woldest ðu? But the presence of *eall* shows that in Alfred's mind *hwæt* was, in the indirect form, more relative than interrogative."

Wülfing, I. pp. 421–3, out of a large number of sentences containing indefinite or general relatives, cites only one example in which the indefinite form is made to refer to a direct antecedent:

to ðon þæt swa hwæt swa on hyre unclænnysse . . . gelumpe, þæt eall þæt se ofn . . . ofasude Be. 576:27.

On p. 426, Wülfing cites this additional indirect question in which *hwæt* is again more relative than interrogative:

englas habbaþ rihte domas & godne willan, & eall hwæt (*Cott.:* þæt) hi willniaþ hi begitaþ swiþe eaþe Bo. 370:14.

In Chaucer, out of the many occurrences of the indefinite and general relatives, only four examples are found in which the indefinite relative has an antecedent:

Repreve he dredeth never a del, Who that biset his wordis wel Ro. of R. 5260. A thousand Troians who so that me yave, Eche after other, . . . Ne mighte me so gladden Tr. & Cr. II. 977. This fable aperteineth to yow alle, who-so-ever desireth or seketh to lede his thought in-to the soverein day Boe. III. M. 12:43. I praise no-thing what ever they see Ro. of R. 2430.

To these may be opposed the following indirect questions in which the pronouns have greater relative force than interrogative:

Til she had herd al what the frere sayde Som. T. 493. But god and Pandare wiste al what this mente Tr. & Cr. II. 1561. every lover thoughte, That al was wel, what-so he seyde or wroughte Tr. & Cr. III. 1799.

*Wülfing, I. p. 426.

Digitized by Google

This latter usage, which was known to Old and Middle English alike, and which is characteristic of the speech of the American negro today, seems to indicate the origin of the pure relative forms. The development may be represented by the following sentences:

(1) Who passed through the gate?

(2) I know who passed through the gate.

(3) I know the man who passed through the gate.

(4) John was the man who passed through the gate.

Whenever the person questioned wishes his answer to convey full information or to be emphatic, an antecedent is supplied, and the pronoun following ceases to be interrogative and becomes relative. The following sentences from J. C. Harris, *Uncle Remus and his Friends*, though they do not conform exactly to the types (1) to (4) given above, illustrate the principle:

"What are you talking about?" the lady asked contemptuously.

"'Bout dat ar snake what I smells. I kin allers smell um when dey gits stirred up."

"What snake?" asked the lady with something more than curiosity.

"Dat ar snake what I bin interferin' wid." p. 259.

"I lay back, I did, fer to 'joy myse'f, en I ain't mo'n doze off 'fo' he begin fer ter tetch on de comic."

"On the what?" the society editor asked.

"On de comic—dis yer stair w'at shows up 'fo' day wid 'er back hair down." p. 262.

"Dey tells me," the old man continued, "dat 'fo' me an' Miss Sally come here, de whole place was ha'nted."

"Oh, hush, man!" exclaimed Chloe, "who tell you dat?"

"Dem what know," said Uncle Remus, solemnly. p. 285.

Digitized by Google

6. Two other points of interest which have also arisen in the preparation of this paper may be noted here:

A. That *who*, as a pure relative, entered the language through its oblique cases rather than through what I may term its head case, the nominative. This fact has been pointed out by O. F. Emerson, *History of the English Language*, p. 338, and is established beyond question in the treatment of the forms *who*, *whose*, and *whom* in this chapter.

B. That the use of *who* in the nominative case, though not general until the sixteenth century, was more frequent than is usually supposed.* When all the examples are collected, the meager list commonly attributed to the centuries preceding the sixteenth will be considerably enlarged, and the statement made by E. Einenkel, "Syntax", *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, I. p. 1119, to the effect that *who* first appeared in the fourteenth century, and by F. J. Furnivall, "On the Use of *Who* in the Nominative, as a Relative, before A. D. 1627," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, London, 1865, N. IX., to the effect that *who* did not occur until the year 1523,† will be found to be wide of the mark. To the brief lists given by L. Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 208, §336, and E. A. Kock, p. 60, §142, B. a., in which examples are cited from the tenth century on, my reading in connection with the preparation of this paper has enabled me to add the two

*As a Relative, though found occasionally in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it did not come into common use before the sixteenth, and then, as now, it was restricted to *personal* antecedents.—T. C. Nesfield, *English Grammar Past and Present*, p. 335. For other similar statements, see R. Morris, *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*, p. 131; E. Mätzner, III. p. 568; T. R. Lounsbury, *History of the English Language*, p. 296.

†P. Noack, *Eine Geschichte der relativen Pronomina in der englischen Sprache*, p. 64, cites Furnivall's conclusion without adverse comment.

Digitized by Google

following examples taken from A. W. Pollard's *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse:**

And every wight who, in such case, him delighteth *The Letter of Cupid*, p. 21. The Monk who was not so courteous *Robin Hood Ballad*, p. 57.

7. *Who*, without an antecedent, is used very frequently as a general relative. It always relates to the idea of person. It occurs:

a. With a personal pronoun in the correlative:

Who hath no wyf, he is no cokewold Mil. T. Prol. 44.

b. Without a personal pronoun in the correlative:

And who hath that, may not asterte Book D. 1154.

Note. The ratio between **a** and **b** is about three to one.

8. *Loke who* occurs once, and is used as the equivalent of *whoever:*

Loke who that is most pacient in love, He is at his avantage al above Frank. T. 43.

9. Although indefinite *who*, as shown above, is frequently found in Chaucer, a careful search through his works fails to bring to light a single† occurrence of *who* as a pure relative in the nominative case. As indicated by E. A. Kock, p. 61, §142, Note, b., Skeat substitutes *whiche* for *who* in the one place in which it occurs originally in the Glasgow MS. and in Thynne's edition of 1532:

Men seyn over the walle stonde Grete engynes, [whiche] were nigh honde Ro. of R. 4194.

***The Letter of Cupid* is dated by Pollard 1402. The *Robin Hood Ballad* was printed in 1510, but Pollard claims in his *Introduction*, p. xiv., that it is a production of the fifteenth rather than of the sixteenth century.**

†O. F. Emerson, *History of the English Language*, p. 336, says: "It is true there are occasional examples of *who* as early as the twelfth century, and later in Chaucer, but it was not until the sixteenth century that *who* began to be used more commonly as a relative." This statement lacks exactness in that no direct reference to the occurrences in Chaucer is given.

Digitized by Google

In the sentence:

> Repreve he dredeth never a del, Who that biset his wordis wel Ro. of R. 5262,

it is difficult to determine the value of *who*. Inasmuch as it has a definite antecedent, and inasmuch as *that* may be pleonastic, it approaches the value of a pure relative, while on the other hand it has very much the appearance of a general relative.

10. *Whos* is used in Chaucer as a pure relative

A. When the antecedent is

a. The name of a person:

> I graunte wel that thou endurest wo As sharp as doth he, Ticius, in helle, Whos stomak foules tyren ever-mo Tr. & Cr. I. 787. Mary I mene, . . . Bifore whos child aungeles singe Osanne M. of L. T. 544.

b. The name of a personified object:

> I beholde my norice Philosophie, in whos houses I hadde conversed Boe. I. Pr. 3:4. Not many examples occur.

c. A name implying the idea of person:

> Seing his freend in wo, whos hevinesse His herte slow Tr. & Cr. IV. 363. Sik lay the gode man, whos that the place is Som. T. 60.

d. The name of a thing (all examples found are cited):

> The formel on your hond so wel y-wrought, Whos I am al Par. of F. 419. For yif that al the good of every thinge be more precious than is thilke thing whos that the good is Boe. II. Pr. 5:102. But ay the oynement wente abrood; . . . Through whos vertu and whos might Myn herte Ioyful was and light Ro. of R. 1901.

e. A name, which, in form, seems to represent a thing, but which, in reality, represents a person (all examples found are cited):

> O moder mayde! o mayde moder free! O bush

Digitized by Google

unbrent, brenninge in Moyses sighte, That ravisedest doun fro the deitee, Thurgh thyn humblesse, the goost that in thalighte, Of whos vertu, whan he thyn herte lighte, Conceived was the fadres sapience Prior. T. 19. Right fresshe flour, whos I have been and shal Tr. & Cr. V. 1317.

f. A personal pronoun:

And if yow lyketh knowen of the fare Of me, whos wo ther may no wight discryve Tr. &. Cr. V. 1367. So inly fair and goodly as is she, Whos I am al Tr. & Cr. III. 1607. To hir, whos I am hool Amor. Comp. 87.

11. *Whos* is used peculiarly in the following cases:

A. As a predicate possessive:

Sik lay the gode man, whos that the place is Som. T. 60. I hadde a lord, to whom I wedded was, The whos myn herte al was Tr. & Cr. V. 976. Right fresshe flour, whos I have been Tr. & Cr. V. 1317. Other examples are to be found: Tr. & Cr. III. 1607; Amor. Comp. 87; Comp. of V. 6; Boe. II. Pr. 5:102; Par. of F. 419.

B. Following the analogy of the *the which* construction, it is preceded by the definite article (all examples found are cited):

thou shalt wel knowe by the autoritee of god, of the whos regne I speke Boe. IV. Pr. 1:36. [Criseyde], The whos wel-fare and hele eek god encresse Tr. & Cr. V. 1359. I hadde a lord, to whom I wedded was, The whos myn herte al was, til that he deyde Tr. & Cr. V. 976.

12. *Whom* is occasionally used without an antecedent as a general relative. It always relates to the idea of person:

Rys, take with yow your nece Antigone, Or whom you list Tr. & Cr. II. 1717. This cherl was hid there in the greves, . . . To spye and take whom that he fond Ro. of R. 3021. In whom that drinke hath domina-

Digitized by Google

cioun, He can no conseil kepe P. T. 232. For soth it is, whom it displese Ro. of R. 5697. Other examples occur.

13. *Whom* is also used in Chaucer as a pure relative

A. When the antecedent is

a. The name of a person:

And eek his fresshe brother Troilus, . . . In whom that every vertu list abounde Tr. & Cr. II. 159. amiddes lay Cipryde, To whom on knees two yonge folkes cryde Par. of F. 278.

b. The name of a personified object:

That she is Fortune verely In whom no man shulde affy Ro. of R. 5480.

c. A name implying the idea of person:

Moder, of whom our mercy gan to springe A. B. C. 133. For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste C. T. Prol. 501. To love my lady, whom I love and serve K. T. 285.

d. The name of a thing (all examples found are cited):

Tho loked I doun up-on myn est orisonte, and fond ther 23 degrees of Libra assending, whom I tok for myn assendent Astr. II. 3:39. she [the formel eagle] shal have right him [one of three eagles] on whom hir herte is set Par. of F. 627.

Note. While *whom* in these two examples is used to refer to things, I hold, with Schrader, p. 18, that it is not so used in the examples cited under **e** below; but that in reality it refers to the idea of person, which, in some way, is associated with the antecedent. Other examples than those cited in **d** and **e** do not occur.

e. A name, which, in form, seems to represent a thing, but which, in fact, represents the idea of person. Schrader, p. 18, after citing the two following sentences which I do not find in Text *A* of

Digitized by Google

the edition by Skeat and which I cite upon Schrader's authority:

> And eke in service of the flour, whom that I serve. Leg. of g. W. Prol. 83. Now, love, to whom my sorweful hert obeyede Leg. of g. W. p. 297. 102.

says:

> "In diesen beispielen sind die substantiva *flour*, *love* vollkommen identisch mit *geliebte*. Auch in: Ne* she was derk ne broun, but bright and clere as the monelight, ageyn whom alle the sterres semen but smale candles Rom. of R. 1011. lag dem dichter der begriff *lady* so nahe, dass er in dem *monelight* giwissermassen seine *lady* personificirt sah. In dem beispiel: O,† verray light of eyen that ben blynde! O verray lust of labour and distresse! O, tresorere of bounté to mankynde, The whom God chees to moder for humblesse A B C:O4 liegt allen dem *whom* vorantstehenden abstracten begriffen der personenname *Marie* zu grunde."

To these examples are to be added the two following in which the antecedents *thing* and *relyke*, respectively, are apparent substitutes for *God* and *loved one:*

> But thilke thing thanne, that hath and comprehendeth to-gider al the plentee of the lyf interminable, to whom ther ne faileth naught of the future, and to whom ther nis naught of the preterit escaped Boe. V. Pr. 6:29, 30. And loke, for love of that relyke, . . . For [whom] thou hast so greet annoy, Shal kisse thee er thou go away Ro. of R. 2675.

f. A personal pronoun:

> And I, of whom the sighte, plounged in teres,

*Skeat's edition, Ro. of R. 1011.
†Skeat's edition, A. B. C. 108.

Digitized by Google

was derked Boe. I. Pr. 1:55. That he, to whom that I am shriven Ro. of R. 6391. But now help god, and ye, swete, for whom I pleyne Tr. & Cr. I. 533.

g. An indefinite pronoun (all examples found are cited):

Now, queen of comfort, sith thou art that same To whom I seche for my medicyne A. B. C. 78. and another, to whom thilke naturel office of feet lakketh Boe. IV. Pr. 2:80.

h. A superlative (only one example occurs):

But herte myn, sin that I am your man, And been the ferste of whom I seche grace Tr. & Cr. V. 940.

14. *Whom* is used peculiarly in the following cases:

A. As the equivalent of *him* or *her* in sentences in which it has no immediate antecedent other than that supplied by the context (all examples found are cited or indicated):

To whom Cecile answerde boldely S. N. T. 319. To whom answerde Tiburce S. N. T. 333. To whom Almachius [answered] S. N. T. 468. Other examples are to be found: Tr. & Cr. I. 829; Tr. & Cr. V. 1562; Ro. of R. 2665.

Note. The explanation of the context for the three cases cited from the S. N. T. will suffice for all the other examples as they are to be explained in an exactly similar way. Seint Cecile and Tiburce are represented as taking part in a prolonged discussion. In 318–9, Tiburce stops speaking and Cecile replies to him. At the conclusion of her reply, Tiburce addresses her again (333). Later, Almachius comes in, and having heard Cecile, addresses her (468).

B. As the equivalent of the subjective genitive *whose* (all examples found are cited):

And I, of whom the sighte, plounged in teres,

Digitized by Google

was derked Boe. I. Pr. 1:55. But than a cherl . . . Bisyde the roses gan him hyde, . . . Of whom the name was Daunger Ro. of R. 3018.

C. Schrader, p. 19, cites the following example of *the whom:*

O tresore of bounté to mankynde the whom God chees to moder for humblesse A B C.:O4.

Skeat's edition reads:

O tresorere of bountee to mankinde, Thee whom God chees to moder for humblesse! A. B. C. 108.

Accordingly, no example of the *the whom* construccan be cited.

15. The construction exemplified in *as who sayth* occurs frequently in the poetry of Chaucer and very frequently in his prose works in sentences similar to the following:

With that he loked on me asyde, As who sayth, 'nay, that wol not be' Book D. 559. I have wel desired matere of thinges to done, as who seith, I desire to han matere of governaunce over comunalitees Boe. II. Pr. 7:3.

Its use is attributed by Einenkel, "Syntax", p. 1119, to the influence of the Old French idiom *comme qui dirait*, and is considered by Mätzner, III. 583, to be an elliptical expression of condition. The formula *whoso list*, and other expressions of similar meaning, are occasionally used parenthetically.

Note. That the construction expresses condition, as stated by Mätzner, is beyond question. It is also quite probable that Einenkel is right in attributing it to French influence. F. H. Sykes, *French Elements in Middle English*, pp. 63–4, though failing to cite the verbal phrase *comme qui dirait*, reaches the conclusion "that OFr. exercised an extensive influence on the development of the meaning of phrasal uses of important MidE. verbs," and supports Einenkel's general opinion as given in his "Syntax", of the effect of this influence.

Digitized by Google

16. *What,* with indefinite meaning, is used in the nominative and accusative cases without an antecedent. When thus used it is equivalent to *that which* or to the more indefinite *whatever:*

For what that on may hale, that other let Par. of F. 151. But natheles, bityde what bityde Tr. & Cr. V. 750. And what that I may helpe, it shal not fayle Tr. & Cr. IV. 938.

17. Although *what* is no longer used, except by the illiterate, as a relative after an antecedent, it is so used by Chaucer in the examples following:

A. When the antecedent is

a. The name of a thing (only one example occurs):

Tak thou thy part, what that men wol thee yive Freres T. 233.

b. A demonstrative pronoun (only one example occurs):

Til he have caught that what him leste H. of F. I. 282.

c. *All* (all examples found are cited):

And al is payed, what that he hath spent L. of G. W. III. 202. Til she had herd al what the frere sayde Som. T. 493. But god and Pandare wiste al what this mente Tr. & Cr. II. 1561.

18. *What* is used adjectivally

A. With a noun which it modifies:

For it is set in your hand . . . what fortune yow is levest Boe. IV. Pr. 7:73. For truste wel, that over what man sinne hath maistrie, he is a verray cherl to sinne Per. T. §27.

B. With a noun which it modifies followed by *that:*

And yit more-over: what man that this toumbling welefulnesse ledeth, either he woot that it is chaungeable, or elles he woot it nat Boe. II. Pr. 4:109. That what wight that first sheweth his presence Comp. of M. 170.

Digitized by Google

What maner thing that may encrese wo Comp. to P. 103. What maner man, stable and war, that wole founden him a perdurable sete Boe. II. M. 4:1. Examples of **A** and **B** are common, especially in the prose works.

19. *Whatever* is used adjectivally in the following example:

Now am I maister, now scolere; Now monk, now chanoun; now baily; What-ever mister man am I Ro. of R. 6332.

20. *What . . . so* is frequently used adjectivally when it modifies a noun which is followed by *that:*

That I nil ay, with alle my wittes fyve, Serve yow trewly, what wo so that I fele Comp. to his L. 99.

21. *What-som-ever* is used once adjectivally:

But what-som-ever wo they fele Ro. of R. 5041.

22. *Loke what*, with *that* after a noun which it modifies, is used adjectivally in the following sentence:

Loke what day that, endelong Britayne, Ye remoeve alle the rokkes, stoon by stoon, . . . Than wol I love yow best of any man Frank. T. 264.

23. *Which* and its composite relative equivalent *the which* are used quite frequently in Chaucer. In regard to the latter relative combination which is characteristic of Middle English generally as well as of the works of Chaucer, it is of interest to note that it is not necessarily a direct imitation of the Old French *lequel*,* but on the contrary that it had its prototype in the Old English composite relative *se þe*. *Which*, or its equivalent *the which*, is used as a relative

A. When the antecedent is

a. The name of a person:

Criseyde, which that wel neigh starf for fere Tr. & Cr. II. 449. Pandare, which that stood hir

*See P. Noack, *Eine Geschichte der relativen Pronomina in der englischen Sprache*, p. 60, and A. Darmesteter, *Historical French Grammar*, p. 663.

Digitized by Google

faste by Tr. & Cr. II. 1275. Twenty-four examples occur in Tr. & Cr. *That* occurs in sixty-two examples.

b. The name of a personified object:
To Daunger cam I, al ashamed, The which aforn me hadde blamed Ro. of R. 3396. And with that word cam Drede avaunt, Which was abasshed, and in gret fere Ro. of R. 3959. Four examples occur in Tr. & Cr. *That* occurs in eight examples.

c. The name of a country or place:
Whylom ther was dwellinge in Lumbardye A worthy knight, that born was of Pavye, In which he lived Mar. T. 3. This is the regne of Libie, ther ye been, Of which that Dido lady is and queen L. of G. W. III. 70.

d. A name implying the idea of person:
Now that I see my lady bright, Which I have loved with al my might Book D. 478. Nineteen examples occur in Tr. & Cr. *That* occurs in ninety-nine examples.

e. The name of a thing:
Thise vers of gold and black y-writen were, The whiche I gan a stounde to beholde Par. of F. 142. One hundred and two examples occur in Tr. & Cr. *That* occurs in one hundred and forty-two examples.

f. A personal pronoun:
Such sorwe this lady to her took That trewely I, which made this book Book D. 96. Twelve examples occur in Tr. & Cr. *That* occurs in one hundred and sixty-two examples.

g. A demonstrative pronoun:
I passe al that which chargeth nought to seye Tr. & Cr. III. 1576. Distorbe al this, of which thou art in drede Tr. & Cr. IV. 1113. Four

Digitized by Google

examples occur in Tr. & Cr. *That* occurs in thirteen examples.

h. An indefinite pronoun:

Ther walken many of whiche yow told have I P. T. 202. I love oon which that is most ententyf Tr. & Cr. II. 838. Two examples occur in Tr. & Cr. *That* occurs in forty examples.

i. A whole sentence or sentence member:

And at the brondes ende out-ran anoon As it were blody dropes many oon; For which so sore agast was Emelye K. T. 1483. And lat us caste how forth may best be drive This tyme, and eek how freshly we may live Whan that she cometh, the which shal be right sone Tr. & Cr. V. 391.

B. As the equivalent of *whos* when it is preceded by *of* and implies the idea of person:

a. And many a mayde, of which the name I wante Par. of F. 287. For his felawe, daun Polymites, Of which the brother, daun Ethyocles, Ful wrongfully of Thebes held the strengthe Tr. & Cr. V. 1489. Other examples are to be found: Cl. T. 884; Ro. of R. 4485; Boe. IV. Pr. 4:214.

C. As the equivalent of *as* after

a. A noun modified by *such:*

and iugen that only swiche thinges ben purveyed of god, whiche that temporel welefulnesse commendeth Boe. I. Pr. 4:205. But bet is that a wightes tonge reste Than entremeten him of such doinge Of which he neyther rede can nor singe Par. of F. 516.

b. A noun modified by *same:*

and that is thy mene mote, for the laste meridian of the December, for the same yere whiche that thou hast purposed Astr. II. 44:15.

D. After superlatives (all examples found are cited):

And if the next thou wolt forsake Which is not

Digitized by Google

lesse saverous Ro. of R. 2823. This yongest, which that wente un-to the toun P. T. 509.

E. In combination with *as* after the analogy of *ther as*, *wher as*, etc. (all examples found are cited):

And in the chambre whyl they were aboute Hir tretis, which as ye shal after here Cl. T. 275. Set the heved of the signe which as thee list to knowe his ascensioun up-on the est orisonte Astr. II. 28:1.

F. In the function of a phrase to express time:

A-cursed be the day which that nature Shoop me to ben a lyves creature! Tr. & Cr. IV. 251. Sith thilke tyme which that ye were born Frank. T. 808. Two examples occur in Tr. & Cr. *That* occurs in twenty examples.

24. *Which* is used as a relative adjective very frequently in *Boethius*, *The Tale of Melibeus*, and *The Persones Tale*, and appears to take the place of demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative adjectives, personal pronouns of the third person, and the relative pronoun *which* itself. To its frequent occurrence, along with that of the resumptive formulas *as who sayth* and *that is to say*, is to be attributed, largely, the heaviness of Chaucer's prose style. In *The Astrolabe*, which was written as a text book for a mere child, and in the poetical works, *which*, as an adjective, and the parenthetical expressions mentioned, appear but rarely and do not affect the style in any appreciable way. It is used with

A. A substantive which has preceded:

At Trumpington, nat fer fro Cantebrigge, Ther goth a brook and over that a brigge, Up-on the whiche brook ther stant a melle Reve T. 3. For shrewes discorden of hem-self by hir vyces, the whiche vyces al to-renden hir consciences; and don ofte tyme thinges, the whiche thinges, whan they han don hem, they demen that tho thinges

Digitized by Google

ne sholden nat ben don Boe. IV. Pr. 6:224, 225. Similar examples are numerous in the prose works.

B. A substantive which is similar in meaning to the substantive which has preceded:

This proude king leet make a statue of golde, Sixty cubytes long, and seven in brede, To which image bothe yonge and olde Comaunded he to loute Mo. T. 171. After Accidie wol I speke of Avarice and of Coveitise, of which sinne seith seint Paule Per. T. §62.

C. A substantive which represents a preceding verbal concept:

Greet was the pitee for to here hem pleyne, Thurgh whiche pleintes gan hir wo encresse M. of L. T. 970.

D. A substantive which sums up the idea of a sentence or clause:

For in this manere men weren wont to maken questions of the simplicitee of the purviaunce of god, . . . and of the libertee of free wille; the whiche thinges thou thy-self aperceyvest wel, of what weight they ben Boe. IV. Pr. 6:20. Hir whyte brest she bet, and for the wo After the deeth she cryed a thousand sythe, Sin he that wont hir wo was for to lythe, She mot for-goon; for which disaventure She held hir-self a forlost creature Tr. & Cr. IV. 755.

Note 1. E. A. Kock, p. 70, §160, A. b., considers *which* an adjective and the equivalent of *such* in the following sentence:

But which a congregacioun Of folk, as I saugh rome aboute . . . Nas never seen H. of F. III. 944.

No other similar examples occur in Chaucer to strengthen or weaken this seemingly correct

Digitized by Google

explanation. It must be noted, however, that the first member of the sentence bears a very close resemblance to the following citations from Chaucer which Mätzner, III. 201, 260, would dispose of as indirect questions:

whiche a fool she was! Book D. 734. And whiche eyen my lady hadde! Book D. 859.

In these examples it is an indirect *which*, like Modern English *what* in *e. g. What a fool!*

Note 2. In the following sentence, *which* seems to be used in the sense of *whichever:*

For ever, in which half that he be, He may wel half the gardin see Ro. of R. 1593.

25. *Whether*, or its contracted form *wher*, occurs several times, but only once does it claim consideration as a relative:

Now chese your-selven, whether that yow lyketh W. of B. T. 371.

C. F. Koch, II. p. 286, without any note or explanation, says:

"Im Ae. und Me. kömmt auch ein relatives *whether* vor: He bed hym chese, weþer he wolde. RG. 5953," and quotes as an additional illustration the sentence from Chaucer cited above. Schrader, p. 28, having these sentences under consideration, says:

"Da aber im Ae. derartige zweifelhafte fälle nur sehr wenige sich finden und auch bei Chaucer nur dies eine beispiel vorkommt, so erscheint es uns natürlicher auch für diese beiden fälle *wether* interrogativ und nicht relativ zu fassen."

E. A. Kock, p. 73, §172, F., Note, takes the opposite view, and in harmony with his theory of the relative against the indirect question, as outlined on page 60, §140, B., Note, contends that it is a relative. He quotes in support of his view the following sentences:

Digitized by Google

Ahsa þæs þu wille Be. 266:22. utrum placet, sumite! (the famous declaration of war against the Carthagenians, Livius XXI. 18:13).

The position held by Schrader seems to me to be the correct one. Accordingly, *whether*, as a pure relative, does not occur in Chaucer.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER III

Differences Between That and Which

26. From the examples cited under *that* and *which*, it is apparent that the two relatives were, in general, used to perform like duties. A few differences, however, are to be noted.

A. *That* is usually employed (1) after nouns preceded by the definite article; (2) personal pronouns; and (3) superlatives.

B. *Which* is usually employed (1) if a preposition appears before the relative; (2) if the antecedent is the name of a country or river; and (3) to refer to whole sentences or sentence members.

27. Schrader, pp. 32–37, in discussing this topic, holds that *which* is preferred to *that* (1) when the relative clause attributes a special characteristic to the antecedent, and (2) when the relative stands at the beginning of a number of clauses, all of which refer to the relative and its antecedent as a kind of text. Though these distinctions may not be entirely correct, a view taken by E. A. Kock, p. 36, §104, they do point to the fact noted in the following quotation from C. Alphonso Smith, "Short Circuit in English Syntax," that *which* has "greater carrying power than *that*", and when placed after its antecedent it commands a more unobstructed view through the clauses following than *that:*

> "Moreover, among relative pronouns it can be easily proved that *who* and *which* have greater carrying power than *that.* There is noticeable a tendency, at least in Modern English, to substitute *and who* or *and which* for *and that* in a series of relative clauses begin-

Digitized by Google

ning with *that.* The writer or speaker feels instinctively that in *and that* there is a possibility of mistaking relative for demonstrative *that*, whereas *who* and *which* are necessarily relative." (Illustrative sentence):

> "It is the inexorable consolidation and perpetuation of the secret *that* was always in that individuality, *and which* I shall carry to my life's end." —Dickens, *Tale of Two Cities*, cap. III.

Though no examples occur in Chaucer in which the sequence is from *that* to *and which*, a number occur in which the sequence is from *that* to *which.* Occasionally, the opposite sequence occurs. Both sequences follow:

a. The grete tour, that was so thikke and strong, Which of the castel was the chief dongeoun K. T. 198, 199.

b. Of briddes, whiche therinne were, That songen, through hir mery throtes Ro. of R. 506, 507.

The ratio between **a** and **b** is five to one in the examples collected.* A number of sequences similar to **a** are cited by A. Schmidt, II. p. 1197, *Shakespeare Lexicon.* Only one example of **b** is cited. No examples of the sequence *that...and which*, or *and who*, are cited. One example of the sequence *that...whom* occurs in Chaucer:

> Withinne the cloistre blisful of thy sydes Took mannes shap the eternal love and pees, That of the tryne compas and gyde is, Whom erthe and see and heven, out of relees, Ay herien S. N. T. 45, 46.

*Examples similar to the following are not considered, as the preposition demands *which:* This egle, of which I have yow told, That shoon with fethres as of gold H. of F. II. 21, 22.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IV

General Relatives

28. In addition to *who*, the use of which as a general relative has already been discussed in the second chapter of this paper, *whoso* and *whatso* occur frequently as general relatives. They are rarely preceded by antecedents and they seldom take the ending *ever*. *Whoso* occurs

A. Once with an antecedent:

> A thousand Troians who so that me yave, Eche after other, . . . Ne mighte me so gladen Tr. & Cr. II. 977.

B. Frequently without an antecedent:

> For who so kissing may attayne, Of loves peyne hath, soth to sayne, The beste Ro. of R. 3677. Who-so with Love wol goon or ryde He mot be curteys, and void of pryde Ro. of R. 2351.

29. *Whosoever* occurs

A. Once with an antecedent:

> This fable aperteineth to yow alle, who-so-ever desireth or seketh to lede his thought in-to the soverein day Boe. III. M. 12:43.
>
> **Note.** This example is also interesting because the antecedent *yow all* is followed by a third singular.

B. Without an antecedent:

> For who-so that ever be so overcomen that he ficche his eyen into the putte of helle Boe. III. M. 12:45.

30. *Whoever* occurs without an antecedent:

> And I shal loven, [sith] that I wil, Who-ever lyke it wel or il Ro. of R. 3434. No other examples occur.

Digitized by Google

31. *Whatso* is used as a general relative

A. With an antecedent:

every lover thoughte, That al was wel, what-so he seyde or wroughte Tr. & Cr. III. 1799. No other examples occur.

B. Without an antecedent:

My peyne is this, that what so I desire That have I not Comp. of P. 99. For what so that this carpenter answerde, It was for noght Mil. T. 657. what-so-ever in al these three Is spoken, . . . The wey therto is so overte H. of F. II. 208. Ne semed it [as] that she of him roughte, Nor of his peyne, or what-so-ever he thoughte Tr. & Cr. I. 497.

Note 1. *Whatever* occurs once with relative rather that interrogative force:

I praise no-thing what ever they see Ro. of R. 2430.

Note 2. *What* may be separated from *so* by inserted words:

what after so befalle, This entremes is dressed for you alle Par. of F. 664.

32. The forms *whichso* and *whichsoever* do not occur.*

*See Schrader, p. 30.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER V

Relation Expressld through As

33. Only two* examples occur in which *as* stands alone without a preceding correlative:

Ne his rotes ne his othere geres, As been his centres and his arguments Frank. T. 549. Make thy rote fro the laste day of Decembere in the maner as I have taught Astr. II. 44:34.

Note. In several sentences similar to the following, *as* can be regarded as the equivalent of *that which*, or *which*, but it is better to regard it as a conjunctive adverb:

Every man dide, right anoon, As to hunting fil to doon Book D. 374. And hoom un-to hir housband is she fare, And tolde him al as ye han herd me sayd Frank. T. 819.

34. *As* occurs very frequently as the relative correlative of *swich:*

Hast thou not seyd, . . . Swich thing as in the law of love forbode is? Len. a. Sco. 17. for swich maner folk, I gesse, Defamen love, as no-thing of him knowe Tr. & Cr. II. 860.

Note 1. No examples occur in which *as* is the correlative of *same*. One example, however, after its equivalent *thilke*, occurs:

In many places were nightingales, Alpes, finches, and wodewales, That in her swete song delyten In thilke place as they habyten Ro. of R. 660.

*Differences between citations given above and in Schrader are to be explained by differences in texts used.

Digitized by Google

Note 2. E. A. Kock, p. 53, § 134, B., contends that in the following examples *as* is used as a conjunctive adverb, and not as a relative:

> at Troye, whan Pirrus brak the wal . . . Nas herd swich tendre weping for pitee As (*as that which*) in the chambre was for hir departinge Chauc. 479:293.* these be no swiche tydinges As (*as those which*) I mene of Chauc. 345:1895.†

In discussing this point he says: "In these examples a comparison and an ellipsis are easily noticed. And *such* is not qualitatively indifferent (§ 132 A). It expresses by itself a certain quality or circumstance, which the hearer or reader is supposed to know already, or which will be explained afterwards, but which is not explained in the *as*-clause." In making this distinction, he goes a step further than J. A. H. Murray, *A New English Dictionary*, and Mätzner, III. 534, who indicate no difference between the usages mentioned above. Inasmuch as Kock is forced, in his discussion of this point, to the employment of hypothetical sentences to illustrate the distinction, and admits the difficulty of detecting the occurrence of the implied comparison, I do not feel that the point is well taken.

35. *As* is occasionally replaced by

A. *That:*

> I shal moeve swiche thinges that percen hem-self depe Boe. II. Pr. 3:17.

B. *Which:*

> and iugen that only swiche thinges ben purveyed of god, whiche that temporel welefulnesse commendeth Boe. I. Pr. 4:205.

C. *That*, with phrasal value:

> This ugly sergeant, in the same wyse That he hir doghter caughte Cl. T. 618.

*Skeat's edition, M. of L. T. 195.
†Skeat's edition, H. of F. III. 805.

Digitized by Google

D. Relative adverbs:

> And sithen thou hast wepen many a drope, And seyd swich thing wher-with thy god is plesed Tr. & Cr. I. 942. In swich another place lede, Ther thou shalt here many oon H. of F. III. 825.

36. In the following example, *as* occurs with phrasal value:

> But in the same ship as he hir fond, . . . Hir . . . He sholde putte M. of L. T. 701. Examples are rare.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VI

Relation Expressed Through Relative Adverbs

37. Relation is frequently expressed in Chaucer by means of relative adverbs. These are often combined with prepositions and are followed by a pleonastic *as*, or *that*. *As*, when thus employed, is always the equivalent of pleonastic *that*. The following adverbs occur:

A. *Wher:*

a. Without prepositions:

Ther is, at the west syde of Itaille, . . . A lusty playne, . . . Wher many a tour and toun thou mayst biholde Cl. T. 4.

b. With prepositions:

And made a signe, wher-by that he took That his preyere accepted was that day K. T. 1408.

B. *Ther:*

a. Without prepositions:

How sholde I thanne, . . . Come to the blisse ther Crist eterne on lyve is? Mar. T. 408.

b. With prepositions:

He priketh thurgh a fair forest, Ther-inne is many a wilde best Sir T. 44.

C. *Why:*

a. Without prepositions:

For thou art cause why thy felawe deyth Som. T. 331.

b. With prepositions:

Thy maladye a-wey the bet to dryve, For-why thou semest syk Tr. & Cr. II. 1516.

D. *Whan:*

At Ester, whan it lyketh me Ro. of R. 6435.

Digitized by Google

E. *Whennes:*

a. Without a preposition:

he was wont to seken the causes whennes the souning windes moeven Boe. I. M. 2:12.

b. Preceded by a preposition:

Thou shalt eek considere alle thise causes, fro whennes they been sprongen T. of M. §24. they retornen sone ayein in-to the same thinges fro whennes they ben arraced Boe. III. Pr. 11:110.

F. *Whider:*

But we that ben heye aboven, siker fro alle tumulte and wode noise, warnestored and enclosed in swich a palis, whider as that chateringe or anoyinge folye ne may nat atayne Boe. I. Pr. 3:56.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VII

Omission in the Relative Sentence

38. Throughout its entire history, the English language has been characterized by a rather frequent occurrence of relative ellipsis, especially in the accusative case in restrictive clauses. Occurrences in the nominative case, and in non-restrictive clauses, have been noted. In this chapter, I wish to give examples of the ellipses, not only of the relatives themselves, but of antecedents, prepositions, and verbs, which occur in Chaucer's adjective clauses. Examples follow:

A. In which the relative in the nominative case is to be supplied after

a. Substantives:

He sente after a cherl, was in the toun Ph. T. 140. He had a knight, was called Achates L. of G. W. III. 41. Ye ryde as coy and stille as dooth a mayde, Were newe spoused Cl. T. Prol. 3. they herd a belle clinke Biforn a cors, was caried to his grave P. T. 337. Other examples are to be found as follows: Ch. Y. T. 581; Ro. of R. 1199; Book D. 702; Par. of F. 19; Tr. & Cr. V. 165; L. of G. W. Prol. 498; Sir T. 4; Som. T. 121; Book D. 823; H. of F. II. 536.

b. Pronouns:

Ther was noon with Gamelyn · wolde wrastle more T. of G. 265. But ther is [noon] a-lyve here Wolde for a fers make this wo! Book D. 740. Ther be but fewe can hir begyle Book D. 674. I asked oon, ladde a lymere Book D. 365.

Digitized by Google

B. In which the relative in the objective case is to be supplied after substantives:

Greet was the wo the knight hadde in his thoght W. of B. 227. Allas! that day The sorwe I suffred, and the wo! Book D. 1245.

Note. Examples occur also in which relatives governed by prepositions are omitted:

Ye, that to me, . . . ful lever were Than al the good the sonne aboute gooth Tr. & Cr. III. 1108. Of al the lond the sonne on shyneth shene Tr. & Cr. IV. 1239. Ther is a-nother thing I take of hede Tr. & Cr. I. 577.

C. In which prepositions are to be supplied with relatives after conceptions other than those of time:

To knowe a sooth of that thou art in doute Tr. & Cr. V. 1295. For the mochel love · my fader loved thee T. of G. 400. Other examples are to be found: Mo. T. 486, 487; Tr. & Cr. IV. 1626, 1627; Ro. of R. 2888; Tr. & Cr. 648; Ro. of R. 2936.

D. In which prepositions and relatives are to be supplied after conceptions of time:

Sin thilke day ye wente fro this place L. of G. W. VIII. 112. Til thilke tyme he sholde y-freten be L. of G. W. VI. 67. Other examples are to be found: Tr. & Cr. IV. 1656; Tr. & Cr. IV. 37; Mo. T. 191.

E. In which the antecedent is to be supplied:

What! shal she crye, or how shal she asterte That hath her by the throte? L. of G. W. V. 124. For wit thou wel, withouten wene, In swich astat ful oft have been That have the yvel of love assayd Ro. of R. 2417. Other examples are to be found: Ro. of R. 1054; Boe. II. Pr. 3:53; Comp. to my Lode-S. 8; Boe. III. Pr. 12:151; Boe. IV. Pr. 4:51; Tr. & Cr. II. 777.

Digitized by Google

Note. An example of omission and attraction occurs in:

> Me thinketh this, that thou were depe y-holde
> To whom that saved thee fro cares colde! L. of G. W. VI. 70.

F. In which antecedent, relative, and preposition are to be supplied:

> For yif that they mighten wrythen awey in othre manere than they ben purveyed Boe. V. Pr. 3:16. No other examples occur.

G. In which the relative and a verb are to be supplied:

> She hadde seyd, and torned the cours of hir resoun to some othre thinges to ben treted and to ben y-sped Boe. V. Pr. 1:2. Where fyndest thou a swinker of labour Have me unto his confessour? Ro. of R. 6858. This use is rare.

H. In which a preposition is to be supplied:

> As I have seyd, by him that I have sworn L. of G. W. IX. 101. Save in somme thinges that he was to blame Cl. T. 20. This use is rare.

I. In which the *that* of the *that . . . his* construction is to be supplied:

> And to be bounden under subieccioun Of oon, she knoweth not his condicioun M. of L. T. 173. No other examples occur.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VIII

Concord in the Relative Sentence

39. C. S. Baldwin, p. 55, § 179, *The Inflections and Syntax of the Morte d'Arthur*, calls attention to a number of sentences in the edition by Sommer in which plural antecedents are followed in the dependent relative clause by verbs ending in *-th*. With regard to them he says: "The plural *-th* seems to survive in the following:"

> wil ye al that loveth me speke with Merlyn 47:13; ye knyghtes arraunt, the whiche goth to seke, etc. 629:9; I praye you gyue to me al my ryghtes that longeth to a chrysten man, 858:19; al Ientyl men and Ientyl wymmen that redeth this book, 861:4.

Continuing, he says: "It will be observed that all these instances are in relative clauses." W. E. Mead, p. 279, *Selections from Sir Thomas Malory's Morte Darthur*, gives the following explanatory note on the *-th* form occurring in the second example given above:

> "*goth.* The plural form in *-th* may be the survival of the older form."

These suggestions, taken in connection with the additional example from Sommer's edition:*

> come on fyersly, and soo slee alle that ever before you stondeth 845:26,

and the one cited by Kellner, p. 205, § 331, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax:*

> Aefter þæm Romane curon III hund cempena and siex, þæt sceolde to anwige gangan.—Orosius, 72, 15,

*All sentences taken from Malory are paged according to the edition by Sommer and punctuated according to the editions by Mead or Baldwin.

Digitized by Google

point to the fact that the notion of plurality implied in a plural antecedent becomes contracted or focalized into a singular concept on having to pass through the medium of the relative; and that in reality the forms in *-th*, which Baldwin and Mead consider Old English plurals, are genuine Middle English singulars. This conclusion is confirmed by the examples from Chaucer below (see also C. Alphonso Smith's "Shakespeare's Present Indicative *S*-Endings with Plural Subjects")* in which plural antecedents are followed by

A. Singular forms of the verb *to be:*

> And after that the melodye herde he That cometh of thilke speres thryes three, That welle is of musyke and melodye Par. of F. 62. Almighty god, that saveth al mankinde, Have on Custance and on hir child som minde, That fallen is in hethen land eft-sone M. of L. T. 811. For we, . . . wol us swich formes make As most able is our preyes for to take Freres T. 174. Now cometh ydel wordes,† that is with-outen profit of him that speketh tho wordes Per. T. § 47. Now wol I speken of lesinges,† which generally is fals significaciuon of word Per. T. § 39.

B. Singulars in *-th:*

> Ye, blisful god, han me so wel beset In love, y-wis, that al that bereth lyf Imaginen ne cowde how to ben bet Tr. & Cr. II. 835. And dide also his othere observaunces That to a lovere longeth in this cas Tr. & Cr. II. 1346. And alle tho that suffreth him his wille L. of G. W. IV. 208. and preye god save the king, that is lord of this langage, and alle that him feyth bereth and obeyeth

Publications of The Modern Language Association, IV, new series, 363ff.

†*Ydel wordes* and *lesinges*, though plurals, may be conceived of as single topics to be discussed. If so considered, the correct concord is preserved in the relative clause.

Digitized by Google

Astr. Prol. 40. But ever worthe hem wel · that doth thee moche sorwe T. of G. 482. somme of hem shewen the boce of hir shap, and the horrible swollen membres, that semeth lyk the maladie of hirnia Per. T. § 27. And thogh so be that no man can outrely telle the nombre of the twigges and of the harmes that cometh of Pryde Per. T. § 24. And kepeth in semblant alle his observances That sowneth in-to gentillesse of love Sq. T. 509. The thridde, is foule wordes, that fareth lyk fyr Per. T. § 76.

Note 1. In the following examples it is difficult to determine the number of the antecedents as conceived by Chaucer:

> Now comth the remedie agayns Lecherie, and that is, generally, Chastitee and Continence, that restreyneth alle the desordeynee moevinges that comen of fleshy talentes Per. T. § 77. Gamelyn held his feste With moche mirth and solas · that was there T. of G. 328.

Note 2. In the following sentence the emergence of *he* proves a sudden change to the singular:

> It resembleth to thise flyinge flyes that we clepen been, that, after that he hath shad hise agreable honies, he fleeth away Boe. III. M. 7:3.

Note 3. With these may be cited two doubtful sentences from Malory:

> for within a whyle he had defouled many good knyghtes of the Table Round, sauf twenye, that was Syr Launcelot and Sire Percyvale 619:20. Whanne Bors had told hym of the adventures of the Sancgreal, suche as had befalle hym, and his thre felawes, that was Launcelot, Percyval, Galahad, and hym self 724:21.

Digitized by Google

40. Other interesting facts concerning concord in the relative clauses are:

A. A plural form of the verb is used after a singular antecedent. This is plainly the *constructio per synesin:*

> And many an ympne for your halydayes, That highten Balades, Roundels, Virelays L. of G. W. Prol. 411. Ne ther nas foul that cometh of engendrure, That they ne were prest in hir presence Par. of F. 307. Ther nis planete in firmament, Ne in air, ne in erthe, noon element, That they ne yive me a yift echoon Of weping Book D. 695. Coempcioun, that is to seyn, comune achat or bying to-gidere, that were estasblisshed up-on the people Boe. I. Pr. 4:65.
>
> **Note.** With these may be cited the following from Malory:
>
> > And thenne every knyghte of the Round Table that were there at that tyme 757:10.

B. Relatives referring to collective nouns are sometimes followed by singular verbs, at other times by plural verbs:

> Of al the folk that on the daunce is Ro. of R. 1002. or of folk that been entred in-to ordre Per. T. § 76.
>
> **Note.** A plural verb form is usually employed. In the following example from Malory both forms follow in the same sentence:
>
> > Thenne the party that was ayenst kynge Arthur were wel comforted 743:27. No examples of this kind occur in Chaucer.

C. Chaucer's skill in handling relative clauses referring to personal pronouns of the first and second persons is shown in that he violates the principle of concord but rarely:

> and it am I That loveth so hote Emelye the brighte K. T. 879. Ye, that is out of drede Tr.

Digitized by Google

& Cr. I. 775. Ye yeve good counseil, sikirly, That prechith me al-day Ro. of R. 5174. But shal I thus [to] yow my deeth for-give, That causeles doth me this sorow drye? Amor. Comp. 32. Ladyes, I preye ensample taketh, Ye that ageins your love mistaketh Ro. of R. 1540. No other examples were found.

Note. The dominance of the 3d. singular, as in § **39**, **A**, **B**, is to be noted here.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IX

The Structure of Chaucer's Relative Sentence

41. In the first part of this chapter, I have subjected the construction of Chaucer's relative clause to a treatment very similar to that given by L. Kellner in his edition of Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Though Caxton wrote a century later than Chaucer, he deviates but little in his use of the relative clause from the norm furnished by his predecessor. Chaucer uses three general types of relative construction. These will be treated under **A**, **B**, **C**:

A. The antecedent or correlative is a noun or pronoun in a complete sentence which is followed by a complete relative clause:

> He conquered al the regne of Femenye, That whylom was y-cleped Scithia K. T. 9.

a. If the relative is in the nominative case, two forms occur:

1. The relative, as in Modern English, is not followed by a pleonastic personal pronoun:

> Ful craftier to pley she was Than Athalus, that made the game Book D. 663.

2. The relative is followed by a pleonastic personal pronoun:

> A knight ther was, and that a worthy man, That fro the tyme that he first bigan To ryden out, he loved chivalrye Prol. C. T. 44.

Note. This is not a correct Modern English construction. For a discussion of the combinations *that . . . he*, *that he*, etc., see §§ **42**, **43**.

Digitized by Google

b. If the relative is in an oblique case, two forms occur:

1. Examples in which, as in Modern English, simple relative and prepositional forms, such as *whos*, *whom*, *of whom*, *in which*, *that . . . to*, etc., are used:

> And, as I seide, amiddes lay Cipryde, To whom on knees two yonge folkes cryde Par. of F. 278. This is the usual construction.

2. Examples in which the demonstrative relative *that* followed by an oblique* case of a personal pronoun, is used. In these examples, *that . . . his* stands for *whose*, *that . . . him* for *whom*, etc.

Genitives:

> Ther nas baillif, ne herde, ne other hyne, That he ne knew his sleighte and his covyne C. T. Prol. 604. Whilom ther was an irous potestat, As seith Senek, that, duringe his estaat, Up-on a day out riden knightes two Som. T. 310. With his slepy thousand sones That alway for to slepe hir wone is H. of F. I. 76. Now fele I wel the goodnesse of this wyf, That bothe after hir deeth, and in hir lyf, Hir grete bountee doubleth hir renoun L. of G. W. Prol. 509. Ther was a womman eek, that hight Shame, that, who can reken right, Trespas was hir fader name Ro. of R. 3032. Al were they sore y-hurt, and namely oon, That with a spere was thirled his brest-boon K. T. 1852. If they be swich folk as they

*Genitives of the personal pronouns: Masc., his; fem., hire, hir; neut., his; plural, here, (her, her, hir).

Datives and accusatives: Masc., him; fem., hir, hire, here; neut., hit, it, plural, hem.—R. Morris, *Chaucer: The Prologue, The Knightes Tale, The Nonne Preestes Tale*, p. xxxv.

Digitized by Google

semen, So clene, as men her clothis demen, And that her wordis folowe her dede, It is gret pite Ro. of R. 7251. Ne she hath kin noon of hir blood, That she nis ful hir enemy Ro. of R. 269.

Note. *Which* is used similarly in the following example:

> Set the heved of the signe which as thee list to knowe his ascensioun up-on the est orisonte Astr. II. 28:1.

Datives and Accusatives:

What sleighte is it, thogh it be long and hoot, That he nil finde it out in some manere? Mar. T. 883. Ther is som mete that is ful deyntee holde, That in this lond men recche of it but smal Sq. T. 63. For in the lond ther nas no crafty man, That geometrie or arsmetrik, can, . . . That Theseus ne yaf him mete and wages K. T. 1042. Ther nas to hir no maner lettre y-sent That touched love, from any maner wight, That she ne shewed hit him, er hit was brent An. & Ar. 115. Other examples are to be found: Per. T. §11; Ro. of R. 681; T. of G. 512; Boe. III. Pr. 2:69; Mil. T. 244.

Note 1. *Which* is used similarly in the following examples:

> But what shal I seye of dignitees and of powers, the whiche ye men, that neither knowen verray dignitee ne verray power, areysen hem as heye as the hevene? Boe. II. Pr. 6:1. thanne is it covenable to tellen specially of sinnes whiche that many a man per-aventure ne demeth hem nat sinnes Per. T. §22. Ther been ful fewe, whiche that I wolde profre To shewen hem thus muche

Digitized by Google

of my science Ch. Y. T. 570. Al redy out my woful gost to dryve; Which I delaye, and holde him yet in honde Tr. & Cr. V. 1371.

Note 2. This construction is very rarely met with in Modern English. For an explanation of its occurrence and for examples in Modern English, see § **42**.

B. The principal clause is divided into two parts by the relative clause:

O lady myn, that called art Cleo, Thou be my speed fro this forth Tr. & Cr. II. 8.

With reference to this form of construction Kellner, p. xlii, *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, says:

"In Old and Middle English this type is nearly always a sort of anacoluthon to our modern eyes and ears, and perhaps it was such indeed. The essential point in which this construction differs from the modern use is, that *the correlative always appears in the nominative case*, without regard to its place in the sentence; it is only the redundant pronoun, personal or possessive, in the second part, which marks the subjective or objective case of this correlative."

Two types are to be distinguished under this division:

a. If the correlative or antecedent of the relative pronoun is the subject of the independent sentence, the redundant personal pronoun is in the nominative case:

These wommen, whiche that in the cite dwelle, They sette hem doun, and seyde as I shal telle Tr. & Cr. IV. 685.

Note 1. This resumptive use of the personal pronoun, though comparatively frequent, is not characteristic of Chaucer. As in Modern English, the pronoun is usually omitted.

Digitized by Google

Note 2. In the following sentence, *which . . . his* is equal to *whose.* The redundant pronoun is omitted:

the kinges dere sone, . . . Which alwey for to do wel is his wone, . . . so loveth thee Tr. & Gr. II. 318.

b. If the correlative or antecedent of the relative pronoun is the direct or indirect object of the sentence, the redundant pronoun is in an oblique case:

And Pandarus, that in a study stood, Er he was war, she took him by the hood Tr. & Cr. II. 1180.

For thilke thing that simply is o thing, . . . the errour and folye of mankinde departeth and devydeth it Boe. III. Pr. 9:13. Other examples are to be found: T. of M. §71; Book D. 1326; Boe. III. Pr. 9:132; Boe. III. Pr. 5:48; Boe. IV. Pr. 2:189.

Note. Kellner's statement, p. xliii, *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, to the effect that **b** is apparently the rule in Caxton, will not hold in Chaucer.

C. The relative clause precedes the principal clause. The use of the redundant pronoun is the same as in class **B**:

a. If the relative clause is the subject of the sentence, the redundant pronoun, if used, is in the nominative case:

And who-so seyth that for to love is vyce, . . . He outher is envyous, or right nyce Tr. & Cr. II. 855.

Note. Numerous examples of this construction occur. The resumptive pronoun is employed more frequently than it is omitted. The ratio is three to one.

b. If the relative clause is the direct or indirect object of the sentence, the redundant pronoun is in an oblique case:

Who me chastysith, I him hate Ro. of R. 3331.

Digitized by Google

Note. This construction is very rare. I find no example in which the redundant pronoun is omitted.

42. In the relative sentences given in classes § **41**, **A** and **B**, in which *that* is followed by an oblique case of a personal pronoun (*that . . . his*, etc.), the personal form is used to express the case relation of the relative to its antecedent. The use of this combination of relative and personal pronoun is limited exclusively to the function of expressing the oblique case relations of the inflectionless *that*. It compensates, as it were, for the loss of the original case endings of the relative. However, notwithstanding the fact that these oblique cases of the personal pronouns thus emplyed have definite values, they must be distinguished from their nominative forms in the combinations *that . . . he*, *that . . . they*, etc., in which the nominative forms are used pleonastically or resumptively.

Note 1. The causes which made necessary this periphrasis were: (1) the loss of the case endings of the Old English relative *þæt;* (2) the difficulty of handling the oblique forms *whose* and *whom;* (3) and the refusal of the relative *that*, unless it was the equivalent of *that which*, to be preceded by prepositions.

Note 2. The rare combinations *which . . . his*, *which . . . him*, etc,, seem to be due to the analogy of the corresponding combinations with *that*.

Note 3. A curious survival of *which* in the combinations *which he*, *which . . . his*, is to be noted in the following dialect extracts from Sidney Lanier, *Poems*, pp. 180–184:

> I knowed a man, which he lived in Jones. This man—which his name it was also Jones. Yan's Jones, which you bought his land. My lower corn-field, which it lay 'Longside the road that runs my way.

Three other examples occur in the same pages. The two

Digitized by Google

following are taken from Joel Chandler Harris, *Told by Uncle Remus*, pp. 151 and 201, respectively:

"She holler so loud dat Brer Rabbit, which he wuz gwine by, got de idee dat she wuz callin' him."

"Mr. Man look thoo de crack, an' he see Brer Wolf, which he wuz so skeer'd twel his eye look right green."

43. Although it is true that a personal pronoun is occasionally used in connection with the relative pleonastically or resumptively when a phrase or clause is inserted between the relative and its predicate (*that . . . he*, etc.), it is also to be noted that it is frequently used in immediate combination with the relative (*that he*, etc.), not resumptively, but to give it a peculiar relative, or rather conjunctival quality. When thus employed along with a negative, the combination seems to be the equivalent of the modern adversative conjunction *but*. The combination is thus used in connection with some negative after:

A. Negative statements:

For in this world, certein, ther no wight is, That he ne dooth or seith som-tyme amis Frank. T. 52.

Note. The personal pronoun of the *that he* combination is frequently omitted.

B. Rhetorical questions:

Wher see ye oon, that he ne hath laft his leef? L. of G. W. III. 337. Who lived ever in swich delyt o day That him ne moeved outher conscience, Or ire? M. of L. T. 1038.

Note. Very few rhetorical questions occur.

44. A careful comparison beeween the relative constructions of Chaucer and Malory brings out the fact that Chaucer was the greater master in the art of compression and subordination. His style is more hypotactic, there being practically no cases of clauses introduced by *and he*, *and she*, etc., instead of relative pronouns. There are also very few cases of anacoluthon. Malory, on the other

Digitized by Google

hand, approaches the loose construction of Alfred at times in sentences similar to the following:

> Now have I that swerd that somtyme was the good knyghtes Balyn le Seveage, and he (who) was a passynge good man of his handes 618:6.

45. Inasmuch as Chaucer wrote at a time not far removed from the Old English period, it is worthy of notice that the word order in his relative clauses is similar, as a rule, to that of Modern English, rather than to that of Old English. But few examples are to be found in which the transposed order of Old English occurs:

> Who me chastyseth, I him hate Ro. of R. 3331. For both have I the wordes and sentence Of him that at the seintes reverence The storie wroot S. N. T. 82.

Occasionally this transposition is due to the requirements of rime:

> Withinne the cloistre blisful of thy sydes Took mannes shap the eternal love and pees, That of the tryne compas lord and gyde is S. N. T. 45.

46. The fact that *that* could not be preceded by prepositions, unless it was equivalent to *that which*, was probably responsible for the following divergences from modern use:

A. The preposition stands near the end of the clause after the verb:

> And blessed be the yok that we been inne Mar. T. 593.

B. The preposition precedes its verb:

> The goode folk, that Poule to preched Ro. of R. 6679.
>
> **Note.** **B** occurs usually with verbs of telling, knowing, etc. Occasionally the verb follows the preposition to meet the requirements of rime.

Digitized by Google

SUMMARY

1. *That* is the most frequently employed Chaucerian relative. It is used in restrictive and non-restrictive clauses alike and refers occasionally to entire sentences or sentence members.

2. The old demonstrative relative *þe* does not appear in Chaucer.

3. The pure interrogative-relative forms, *who*, *which*, *what*, though generally supposed to be derived from *general* or *indefinite* relatives, are derived from interrogative pronouns used in complete or emphatic clauses in indirect discourse.

4. *Who*, as a pure relative, in the nominative case, does not appear in Skeat's edition. Its oblique forms are used frequently to refer to persons or personified objects, but very rarely to things. In an indefinite or general relative sense, it occurs very frequently. When thus used, it is often followed by a personal pronoun in the correlative sentence.

5. *What* occurs very rarely as a pure relative. Its use as an indefinite or general relative and as a relative adjective is frequent.

6. *Which* is used both as a relative pronoun and as a relative adjective. It rarely refers to superlatives and interrogative pronouns. It is constantly employed to refer to sentences and sentence members.

7. *Whether* does not occur as a pure relative.

8. *Which* has greater carrying power than *that*, and frequently replaces it in a sequence of relative clauses referring to one antecedent.

9. The general relatives *whoso*, *whatso*, and their variant forms, occur frequently. *Whichso* and *whichsoever* do not occur.

Digitized by Google

10. Relation is very frequently expressed through *as* and relative adverbs.

11. Chaucer's relative ellipses present no special peculiarities.

12. Chaucer occasionally uses a singular predicate in his relative clauses after a plural antecedent. His usage, in this respect, is not unlike that of Malory or Shakespeare. In a very few examples, he uses a plural predicate in the relative clause after a singular antecedent. When the antecedent is of the first or second person singular, Chaucer rarely violates the concord of number and person in his relative predicates. Rélatives referring to collective nouns are as a rule followed by plural predicates.

13. The structure of Chaucer's relative sentence is at times very different from that of Modern English. The most striking differences appear in the frequent use of the oblique forms of personal pronouns used in connection with the relative *that*, rarely *which*, to express the case relation of the relative to its antecedent. The combination *that he ne*, etc., after negative statements and rhetorical questions, is the equivalent of the modern *but*, meaning *who not*.

14. Chaucer exhibits a fine feeling for relative subordination. He permits anacolutha to appear but rarely and joins his dependent clauses to his principle clauses by a hypotactic nexus of which Malory was wholly incapable.

15. Though Chaucer was not, in actual time, very far removed from the Old English period, his word order in relative clauses, when not influenced by the demands of rime, is very similar to that of Modern English. Occasionally, the old transposed order occurs in the relative clause. *That*, when the equivalent of *that which* or *what*, is frequently preceded by a preposition. In very rare examples, *that* is followed by a verbal combination like *of speke*, in which the preposition precedes the verb instead of following it.

Digitized by Google

LIFE

I was born in Lenoir, N. C., December 27th, 1876. After attending several private schools, I entered Haverford College, Haverford, Penn., in September of 1895. From this institution, where I held the positions of assistant librarian and private tutor in Latin, I received the "Class of 1896 Latin Prize", in June, 1897. Leaving Haverford at the end of my third year, I entered the senior class of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, the following September. I received the degree of A.B. in 1899, and was awarded the "Hume Essay Medal" for special work in English. During the year 1899-1900, I was Principal of Vine Hill Male Academy, Scotland Neck, N. C., a position which I resigned to become instructor in English at Catawba College, Newton, N. C. In September, 1901, I returned to the University to become its librarian, a position which I still hold. In 1902, I received the degree of A.M. after pursuing graduate courses in English, Greek, and Latin. In 1904, I received "The Early English Text Society Prize" for work in Old and Middle English.

To all of my instructors, and especially to Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, Dr. Thomas Hume, and Professor W. D. Toy, under whom it has been my privilege to pursue the courses leading to this dissertation, I am deeply indebted, both for wise guidance in study and for the sympathetic interest and unfailing kindness which have at all times characterized their relations to me.

LOUIS ROUND WILSON.

Chapel Hill, N. C.,
May 15, 1905.

Digitized by Google

INDEX

And he, etc., 55.

As, 36–38, 39.

As who saith, 23, 28.

But, 55, 58.

Loke what, 25.

Loke who, 17.

Se þe, 25.

That, v, 6–12, 32–33, 39, 56, 57–58.

That he ne, 49, 55, 58.

That . . . he, etc., 49, 54–55.

That . . . his, etc., 50–51, 54, 58.

þe, 12, 57.

The which, 25.

The whom, 23.

The whos, 19.

Ther, 39.

Whan, 39.

What, 13–15, 24–25, 57.

Whatever, 25, 35.

Whatso, 34–35, 57.

What-som-ever, 25.

Which, 9, 11, 13, 25–30, 32–33, 57–58.

Which he, etc., 54–55.

Which . . . his, etc., 51, 53, 54, 58.

Whichso, 35, 57.

Whichsoever, 35, 57.

Who, 13–18, 32–33, 34, 57.

Who not, 58.

Whoever, 34.

Whom, 16, 19–23, 33, 50, 54, 57.

Whos, 16, 18–19, 50, 54, 57.

Whoso, 34, 57.

Whoso list, 23.

Whosoever, 34.

Whennes, 40.

Wher, 39.

Whether, 30–31, 57.

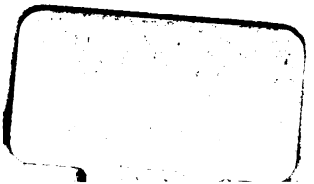
Whider, 40.

Why, 39.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google


Digitized by Google

Widener Library
3 2044 090 279 506

Digitized by Google